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## Socialist Party Facing Serious Task And Test In St. Louis Emergency Convention

By J. L. ENGBAHL.

**S**T. LOUIS, MO.—Its greatest task and its greatest test. That is what confronts the American Socialist Party here in its emergency convention assembled as the war clouds grow thicker and blacker and the demand for conscription follows quick on the declaration of a state of war with Germany.

Every one of the 200 delegates making up this convention came to that conclusion soon after reaching the city. This feeling became more pronounced as the work of this sixth national Socialist Party convention got under way.

### Party Will Weather Storm.

There was no doubt in the minds of any of the delegates that the party would successfully accomplish its great task and pass thru the test with the highest possible credit to itself.

Early indications were that a united, decisive and determined position on the question of war would be taken by the convention.

This became very evident as Morris Hillquit, of New York, chosen as chairman for the first day's proceedings, was enthusiastically applauded as he delivered the keynote address during the opening hours of the convention.

The delegates listened with keen interest as Hillquit outlined the brilliant future that seemed to confront the Socialist movement of the United States and the world following the 1912 national convention in this country and leading up to the proposed International Socialist Congress to be held in Vienna, Austria, in August, 1914.

### In The Throes Of War.

"And then suddenly and unexpectedly Europe found itself in the throes of war," said Hillquit. "Now out International lies bleeding at the feet of the all-devouring Moloch of war."

He then traced the depression that had crossed the ocean and taken possession of the comrades of the American Socialist movement.

"We have been violently, needlessly, criminally drawn into this conflict," he continued, and then showed that the Socialist Party was the only considerable organized force opposed to war. The convention then rose to its feet and cheered as Hillquit declared, "It falls to us to continue our opposition to this war even now."

The convention cheered again as Hillquit declared that, "The American people are opposed to this war," and again when he demanded that the predatory interests that profit from war must pay the cost of the war.

### Cheer Russian Revolt.

There were cheers when Hillquit referred to the successful revolution in Russia, resulting in the overthrow of the Romanoffs. There was another fresh outburst of enthusiasm when he predicted the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns in Germany and the Hapsburgs in Austria.

"Every man and woman at his or her post," he concluded. "We must organize a strong, militant front to the predatory interests of the country. This convention will make or unmake the Socialist movement in the United States," and as he finished every delegate resolved to do his best to MAKE the Socialist movement in America bigger and stronger, the pride and hope of the entire International Socialist movement.

Hillquit's address is published in full on this page. It came after National Secretary Adolph Germer had called the national convention to order in the Planter's Hotel here and read the convention call. Hillquit was nominated for chairman by Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, and unanimously elected.

### Perfect Organization.

The convention then proceeded with the work of organization. George E. Roemer, of Massachusetts, was made secretary, and Miss Elizabeth Goldstein, of Massachusetts, and A. Wagenknecht, of Ohio, the two assistant secretaries. Duncan McDonald, of Illinois, was made vice-chairman. There was little work for the credentials committee, the two contests in the Michigan and South Dakota delegations being settled without much difficulty.

Some spirited debate developed over the adoption of the rules to govern the work of the convention, especially over the proposed rule increasing the strength of the proposed committee on war and militarism

from nine members to 15 members. Delegate Berger, Wisconsin, spoke in favor of the increased number and gave voice to his feelings regarding the spirit already displayed by the assembled delegates.

**Urges Teeth In Declaration.** "This party will stand no matter what they do in Washington," said Berger. "This party will be the greatest national organization within the International. Let us have a declaration on war and militarism with teeth in it."

It was decided to put 15 members on the committee on war and militarism.

John M. Work, Chicago, member of the national executive committee, took up the cudgels in favor of a revised national platform when it was proposed to abolish the proposed platform committee.

"The 1916 platform is out-of-date and contradictory," declared Work. "It is highly essential that we should have a new platform."

Delegate Barney Berlyn, Illinois, spoke for a real platform, declaring the feeling in Illinois for a real platform is intense.

John La Duca, translator-secretary of the Italian Federation, declared that no one is satisfied with the present contradictory platform. The platform committee was finally saved. Greetings were received and read from the 21st Assembly District, Kings County, N. Y., declaring its opposition to all wars; from the Rock Island, Ill., County Committee, declaring we have no country for or against which to fight; eight comrades sent in a communication asking for a national woman's secretary; the St. Paul, Minn., organization sent in a communication taking a stand against conscription, while the Washington, D. C., organization sent in its wishes for a successful convention.

### Real Debate Starts.

The first real debate of the convention started when Delegate Katterfeld, Washington, introduced a question that he wanted the 34 candidates for the 15 places on the committee on war and militarism to answer. Here is the question:

"Are you opposed to all wars, offensive and defensive, except the wars of the working class against the capitalists?"

According to Katterfeld's motion this question was to be answered by a "yes" or "no."

"It is unnecessary and a waste of time to raise this question," declared Delegate Duncan McDonald, Illinois. "It is not a high reflection on Katterfeld's mental balance to present this question here," declared Delegate Winfield R. Gaylord, Wisconsin.

## War Crisis Offers Great Opportunity, Says Hillquit

**S**T. LOUIS, MO.—"We have a great opportunity before us," said Morris Hillquit, of New York, in the opening discussion of the convention committee on war and militarism, which began its sessions on the second day of the convention here, immediately after it had been appointed.

"If we take the proper stand," said Hillquit, "we can bring considerable clarity on this question to the entire international movement. We can rally to us powerful forces to support our position. Our declaration should be vigorous, definite and sane, and by sane I do not mean conservative. We can have sanity without being conservative."

Hillquit urged that if the committee showed fundamental differences he did not think it ought to compromise on the question of war and militarism. But he felt, that while the early discussions of the committee showed three extreme views, he declared that fundamentally the members of the committee represented but one view.

### Socialists Not Pacifists.

"The question that confronts us is not one of nationalism versus internationalism," he said. "We are not pacifists. Ours is a militant, revolutionary organization. We all fight within the nation for the interests of the working class. We will defend the rights of the workers wherever an attack is made. If we are ready to fight the ruling class, economically and politically, within the nation, do we draw the line outside the nation?"

Hillquit pointed out the danger of making general state-

Delegate Koppnagle, Illinois, upheld Katterfeld's stand, declaring that Katterfeld had taken a stand beside Karl Liebknecht.

Delegate Dillon, New Mexico, declared the Germans had been fooled into thinking they were attacked, and he wanted to take every precaution against the Socialists of this country being similarly misled. He was therefore in favor of putting the Katterfeld question.

**Attacks Heroic Speeches.** "This is not a time to make heroic speeches," declared Delegate Solomon, New York. "I want to see comrades on the committee of different views. I don't want this to be a rubber stamp convention. If you adopt this motion you will make a laughing stock of this convention."

Delegate Spargo, Vermont, declared that "Karl Marx, the elder Liebknecht and Engels could not answer that question in the affirmative. Nor could the younger Liebknecht answer that question in the affirmative. In Russia we would fight for the democratic movement that has developed in that country. If we had a Socialist republic in this country we would fight any invaders."

"Intolerance hurts the party," declared Delegate Anna A. Maley, Minnesota. "The putting of this question is the essence of all intolerance. I hope that the motion to put this question will die without even the support of its maker."

"I don't want the European situation repeated in this country," declared Delegate Midway, Ohio, arguing for the putting of the question.

### Hillquit Opposes Motion.

"I have never made a secret of my position on any question," said Delegate Hillquit, New York. "I honestly and sincerely hope you will vote down this motion."

Hillquit declared that the "yes" and "no" answer was an invention of the devil, that it tended to create a spirit of moral terrorism and mob rule.

Delegate Germer, Illinois, spoke against Katterfeld's motion, claiming he was not afraid of anyone putting the convention in his pocket.

"I would like to see this committee on war and militarism composed of delegates representing every phase of thought on this question," he said.

### Wants To Facilitate Work.

Delegate C. E. Ruthenberg, Ohio, claimed that the putting of this question would facilitate the work of the convention, in that it would enable the delegates to know beforehand for whom they were voting. He argued that the committee thus elected could draft a report in which the convention would believe.

Delegate Algernon Lee closed the discussion, claiming it was impossible to tell where anyone stood on this question by just getting a "yes" or "no" answer. He said that even Roosevelt could answer "yes" to this question, that he could say, "I am opposed to all wars—that's why I want a big army and a big navy."

The Katterfeld motion was finally defeated by a vote of 66 for and 96 against. After some business was transacted a delegate from Michigan suddenly wanted to have a roll call. But he was ruled out of order as being too late.

The delegates then proceeded to vote for the 15 members who were to compose the committee on war and militarism.

### The April Leaflet!

Our April leaflet is entitled "The High Cost Of Living." It was written by Scott Nearing.

This leaflet should be distributed by the hundreds of thousands. You can get these leaflets from the National Office, Socialist Party, 803 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., at 10 cents per 100; 75 cents per 1,000.

The cost of living is going up! Let the workers of the nation know the reason why!

ments. He said that it is folly to take such abstract positions as the workers have no country, and they will not defend themselves if attacked. He cited the case of the Russians, under their present government,

(Continued On Page Two.)

## "We Are Charged With Great Trust," Hillquit Tells 200 Delegates In Keynote Address

**H**ERE IS the keynote address delivered by Morris Hillquit in opening Emergency National Convention of Socialist Party in St. Louis, Mo.:

Comrades, I thank you most heartily for the honor you have conferred on me in choosing me as Chairman of this Sixth National Convention of the Socialist Party. At no time has the national council of our party met under as critical conditions or faced as serious a task and test as those we are facing here today.

When the chairman's gavel fell upon our last convention on May 18, 1912, our organization was flushed and conscious of youthful vigor. Our movement was buoyant with enthusiasm, and the men and women in it were joyous with struggle, conscious of conquest. Within a few years, we had increased our membership to over 125,000, represented by about 5,000 live and active locals. We had increased our press to about 300 different organs. We had just had our first great electoral victories in various cities of the country and in legislative bodies, and we had just opened the doors of the National Congress to a representative of our party. Socialism seemed to be in the air. The Socialist movement was militant and triumphant. We saw nothing but growth and victory ahead of us.

### WORLD FACTOR.

And the triumphant march of the Socialist proletariat was by no means confined to the United States alone. All over the civilized world, the Socialist movement had become the most significant factor, the most propelling course in public life. In 1913 a number of the leading countries of Europe seemed definitely to move toward Socialism at such a rate of speed that it seemed to all of us that within a few years, a very few years, Socialism would conquer and dominate those countries. The hosts of Socialist men and women in Europe alone numbered between 30 and 40 millions, and it was one great ardent body knitted together by solidarity of feeling and action, inspired by the same idea, working for the same common cause, working as one great universal force regardless of national boundaries, regardless of racial distinctions. We were proud of our International of which we formed a part. We were expecting the next joyful occasion, the great review of Socialist forces of the world which was scheduled to be held in the month of August, 1914, at the proposed International Socialist Congress in Vienna.

### COLLAPSE COMES.

And then suddenly, unexpectedly, disastrously, the accumulated forces of capitalist misrule broke loose. Europe found itself in the throes of war. Everything that civilization had been laboriously building up in the course of generations collapsed, collapsed suddenly and lamentably, and our proud Socialist International

al upon which two generations of men and women had been laboring incessantly at the greatest sacrifice—our International collapsed with every institution of modern civilization.

We are not here, comrades, to judge the conduct of the Socialists and workers of Europe. What elemental force stronger than reason, stronger than principle, stronger even than class loyalty, actuated them in those dark days of the beginning of the war, what force it was that drove this body of workers who only twenty-four hours before had presented one organization, knitted together by the most intimate ties of working class solidarity—what had driven them at each others throats, only history in the future will show.

### REACTION REACHES US.

But the fact is that for the time being at least, it tore the proud edifice of the Socialist International to pieces. For the time being our International lies wounded and bleeding at the feet of the all-devouring Moloch of militarism and war. It may take years, it may take an indefinite time before we will recover. But there is no doubt whatsoever but that for the time being the war and the participation of Socialists in the war in Europe was a most vital stab in the heart of the International Socialist movement. The reaction spread over the ocean and reached us. It had taken the heart out of a great many of our comrades. It created a moral atmosphere of depression which hung over us like a dark, heavy cloud for years. And then came the even indirect effects of this war as influencing the course of our own movement. War in Europe created that spirit so fatal to all democratic and progressive movements—the spirit of militarism, founded upon an appeal to the lowest conception of the vulgar patriotism which permeated our country, which was fostered artificially, which grew from day to day to the exclusion practically of all other movements of the people.

And with that came this era of prosperity; a prosperity built upon the death and destruction of our fellowmen in Europe; a prosperity to which our people unthinkingly and unfeelingly were inclined to cling.

### HYPOCRISY EXPOSED.

The administration of President Wilson, hypocritical as it turns out now to be, as the Socialists knew it to be all the time, by making an appeal to the unthinking masses, an appeal in behalf of the cause of labor and progress, an appeal—the irony of it all—an appeal to the sentiments of the people in favor of peace, in favor of being kept out of the war.

And with these various discouraging elements came the unfortunate growing laxity in our own organization. It was a fatal blunder, I believe, on our part to abandon those National gatherings which we should normally have had, our National Committee meeting, our convention scheduled for last year, just at the time of all times when most

necessary for the welfare of our party, for the gathering of whatever forces there were; so that after the lapse of five years we find ourselves as the Socialist movement in a period of depression.

Comrades, it will serve no good purpose to close our eyes to the fact that our party and our movement have gone backward since 1912. We have lost members. Our membership has been reduced to about 80,000 from 125,000. We have lost several organs of publicity. We have lost votes in the last election. And worst of all, we have lost some of our spirit, some of our buoyant, enthusiastic, militant spirit which is so very essential, so very vital for the success of any movement like ours. (Applause.)

### WAR IS UPON US.

And now, on top of it all comes this war. Our country, which seemed so very safe from the European insanity 3,000 miles removed from the seat of conflict, our country has been violently, needlessly, criminally drawn into this European conflict. (Great applause.) War is upon us, with all its horrors. It may be that there is time. The vast majority of the unthinking crowds consider our declaration of war a mere manifestation, a mere game. But the time may come, the time probably will come, when war will become as grim, as hideous a reality for the American people as it has become for the peoples of Europe. (Applause.) Millions of our boys will be sent to the trenches to murder millions of other boys in foreign countries, and they will be for the most part boys of the working class on both sides. War means more than a state of mind. War means the horribly mingled bodies of hundreds of thousands of innocent boys. It means the groans, the agonies of the battlefield. It means desolation, privation, suffering at home, and all of it or most of it will fall upon the working class.

We, the Socialist Party of the United States, are today the only considerable organized force which has still retained a clear vision, an unclouded mind, in this general din of confusion, passion and unreason; and it falls to us to continue our opposition to this criminal war, even now after it has been declared. (Applause, cries of "Good!")

### PEOPLE OPPOSE WAR.

The favorite phrase nowadays is, "Stand by our President." We Socialists, so long as we remain Socialists, will never subscribe to so meaningless, so undemocratic a phrase by which the people of the United States surrender their sole birthright. (Great applause.) In his speech before congress, smooth and well turned as usual, President Wilson calls attention to the fact that in the autocracies of Europe this war, the most vital to all the peoples of Europe, was declared by the powers that govern, without consulting the people of the respective countries. And that comes from the mouth of the man who never consulted the American people as such, for the American peo-

ple—I say boldly—even today the vast majority are opposed to this war. (Great applause.) If ever a great people has allowed itself to be stampeded into death and destruction it is this great democratic people of the United States. And we Socialists have a task before us. We have the task, first and foremost, to continue preaching reason and humanity to the people of this country, continuing our opposition to war. And more than that, war having been declared, it becomes our duty and the duty of all progressive, thinking men and women of this country to begin at once laying the foundation of a speedy peace, and one that will make future wars impossible forever and ever. (Applause.)

Nor is that all. War means more than conflicts on the battlefield. War means reaction at home. War creates a mob spirit of unreason. War creates conditions under which all the powers of reaction, all the predatory powers of the country, can satisfy their desires, and accomplish their attacks upon popular liberty, upon popular rights, with absolute impunity. Not a voice in this country will be raised against these attacks upon popular liberty that are sure to come; not a strong voice unless it be the voice of the Socialist Party of the United States. (Applause.)

### FIGHT WAR PROFITS.

Nor does this exhaust our task. This war will consume not merely the lives and the blood of the people, but also the wealth of the people, millions and billions of dollars. And as usual, the working class which will furnish the fodder for cannons will also be called upon to furnish the sinews of war.

It devolves upon us to proclaim to the working class of this country, to the whole people of this country, that those powers and interests who have made the war, that those powers and interests who expect to profit by it, shall be made to bear the tremendous cost of this war. (Applause.) No individual profit shall be made. No individual advantages shall be gained by the predatory classes of our country, out of the misfortunes, out of the calamities, out of the lives of their fellow men; that we, the Socialist Party, can awaken the people of this country to a realization of the enormity of the situation.

Comrades, there are dire days ahead of us. There are critical days ahead of us. Do not be despondent; do not be discouraged; for after all, the Socialist movement never had smooth sailing; for after all, when you men and women gave yourselves to the Socialist movement you must have known that it was a great, a hard, a difficult struggle which you undertook, a struggle which has its ups and downs, its victories, as well as its defeats, its defeats as well as its victories.

There remains but one thing for us, the faith in the ultimate victory, the inevitable victory of our cause







## Fight Is Now On For Free Speech And Free Assemblage

By LUCIEN SAINT.

Washington.—Opponents of militarism and jingoism in this country must quickly organize in defense of the constitutional right of free speech and free assemblage!

This is the message that Representative Meyer London sends to the Socialists on the opening day of the "War Congress." He sees more danger in the violent intolerance, the ruthless passion of the militarists to prevent free discussion of national policy, than in any other of the present crisis.

"Above all things else," says London, "we must assert and maintain the right to free discussion of every phase of national and international policy. We have fought against entrance into war. Even today I cannot bring myself to believe that we are absolutely certain to be drawn in. Some turn of political fortune in Germany may yet change the whole face of the problem and keep us out of the conflict. But if we do enter, then we who are against absolutism must maintain our right to express our opinions on the events of the war and the policies to be followed in continuing and in ending it. We must maintain the democratic character of our national government."

London had not on the opening day of the session made up his mind as to the details of the fight he would make on this issue, but he declared that he would seek to commit the federal authority to the protection of the right of free speech, free assembly and free press.

### Press Shows Mob-Spirit.

"The character of press editorial now appearing," he pointed out, "in which pacifists and the anti-war element throughout the United States are virtually declared to be enemies of the nation, is ominous of the mob-spirit which the war party has created and is now seeking to inflame. One New York paper has just published a picture labelled as a 'remedy for pacifism,' in the form of a rope and noose, twisted to spell out the word PEACE. Last night Dr. David Starr Jordan's anti-war meeting in Baltimore was broken up by a mob. Other incidents of the sort are likely to occur in all parts of the country if this spirit of ruthless repression of the opponents of war shall continue."

"Local magistrates cannot generally be trusted to protect the spokesmen of minorities, in times like these, from mob action. The power of the federal Government is sufficient, if promptly invoked, to give a guarantee that traditional American rights still be preserved. I am going to raise that issue in the House. It is time that those who care for freedom of speech in America realize their need to organize for its defense."

Nor was the Socialist congressman over-stating the condition of intolerance in the minds of politicians and pro-war editors and their following, throughout the munitions belt along the Atlantic seaboard. For every pacifist who came to Washington on the opening day of the session, to plead with members of the House and Senate to "Keep Us Out Of War," there were half a dozen war advocates sneering at the "white feather brigade" and hoping that some general melee would result from their visit. In the press gallery this savage eagerness to "run these bugs out of town" was worthy of the best Prussian militarist propaganda.

### Munsey Aims Views.

This lawless phase of the militarist agitation has been built up gradually in the public mind by the munitions press, and with every fresh aggression by the Prussian militarist autocrats against American commercial interests it has advanced another step. Thus on April 2, the Washington Times, owned by Frank Munsey, one of the big owners of steel stocks, announced: "A man like David Starr Jordan, at least, should not be ignorant of the plainest teachings of history. The Baltimore incident should teach him and all his kind that this country is in no humor to tolerate any sign of division in its fast closing ranks.... Let pacifists henceforth reckon on the intolerance of patriotism as a fixed force in the United States.... The Baltimore mob that burst into the peace meeting and

stopped the idle chatter of Dr. Jordan about the interests of munition makers was urged to its effort because they were following a flag and a foolish policeman tried to pull it down.... When the country is in danger, when we are already actually at war, patriotism is right to be intolerant.... Let pacifists everywhere learn the lesson, if reason has not departed from them. What the country requires of them now is silence and a large quantity of that. The greatest boon they can ask of an outraged people is forgetfulness."

This from Munsey, who is drawing fabulous returns from the "warbrides" in which he invested at the outbreak of the European slaughter.

Nor are the anti-war advocates the only ones against whom the stock-market patriots are turning their guns. The National Women's Party resumed its picketing of Congress and the White House on Monday, and at once the war crowd raised a fresh howl of rage. They demanded that "This nonsense must stop," and poured out upon the women who are seeking for a political voice in the nation as such billingsgate as they had discharged at the enemies of jingoism. Their indignation was only increased when the militant wing of the suffrage movement joined equally with the diplomatic wing in celebrating the arrival of the first congresswoman, Miss Rankin of Montana. They even suggested that it was Miss Rankin's duty to denounce at once the militant suffrage movement, in order that she herself might be held free of suspicion of this "fatuous folly."

### Flag Protects Scabs.

A street railway strike on one of the two car systems in Washington is now in its fourth week. Scab cars are run with American flags fastened on the front. Members of the Senate and House are riding. The notorious union-breaking device of the individual long-term labor contract first used to break the street car strike in New York last year, has been brought here. Attempts are being made to get a Congressional investigation. Already the indications are strong that the militarist forces will be turned instantly against any public hearings on this strike, because it would be "un-American" to try to get justice for any body of workers in the national capital in time of impending war.

Every Socialist in America can help to keep the nation comparatively sane in these days. From London, in the House of Representatives in Washington, to the members of the farthest local in Alaska, the opportunity is open for a determined and continued refusal to surrender the right to think and speak and plead for humanity.

### No Classes But

By WM. F. KRUSE.

In an editorial calling upon young men of the wealthy families to enlist the Chicago Tribune delivers itself thusly:

"Americans who have had favored lives will be asked to meet their obligations.... The British aristocracy summons most of its favors by the perfect willingness of its sacrifice. If the nation goes to war, the men of the British aristocracy go to war. It is the law of caste, it is the payment for privilege."

"We have no aristocracy, but we have a favored class. For the youth of this class the favors have come without effort and they now stand in a position of peculiar responsibility to the nation. Times have been very hard for people of poor and even moderate circumstances. If such people see that the sons of the rich men are slackers, the people will fail to understand why they should make hard conditions harder by sacrificing the little they have."

"For any self-respecting person the law of compensations will now operate. Americans who have had much from the country will expect to do much for it. They sacrifice nothing but their personal convenience and personal security. They are not asked to ruin their families or even to leave hard won positions. They are merely given the opportunity to do what they ought to do in the most favorable circumstances imaginable. 'No nobles oblige—it will stimulate or shame the Americans upon whom it is an obligation.'"

"Rich young man, the time for you to enlist is this morning. People are already looking at you with peculiar expressions."

It is a rather important day when such a hide-bound apostle of reaction as the Tribune will admit the existence of favored classes in this country. For if there are admittedly favored classes in this free and independent land, it follows clearly that there are also classes that are not so favored. And if it is good argument

that those most favored shall be called upon to give the most to aid this war that their greed has brought upon us—then it is also good argument that those who have been least favored shall give up the least in the blood feast the making of which was none of their doing.

We understand, of course, that the Tribune's splurge is just a little play to the galleries. We do not expect any of the "young rich men" addressed to take the Tribune's call too seriously. Many of them have already announced that they have no intention of so doing, as the same paper admitted several days ago. Many said they would wait until the second or third call for volunteers, or until this country were actually invaded, knowing full well that this contingency rests far off in the "sweet bye and bye."

Seldom has a more important admission of the utter uselessness of our present ruling class youth been made. "For the youth of this class the favors have come without effort"—right! Without effort to the ruling class but with much sweat and blood from the poor workers who have had to produce those "favors." They are not asked to ruin their families or even to leave hard won positions—in other words they are good for nothing but tango teas and home breaking so they might as well become soldiers.

It is a mistake, tho, to imagine that by going to war in the spirit of noblesse oblige these modern drones will wipe out their debts and wrongs to society. It will do the working-class but little good even if the carcasses of a dying aristocracy are filled with lead as a result of the war brought about by their own class. Our objection does not lie on personal grounds but on the ground of the reason for their power. These drones own the social tools upon which the life of mankind depends. As long as they are allowed to own these tools, ownership there will always be the danger of war to haunt the lives of the workers. Once that ownership is vested in the people both the power of this useless American "aristocracy" and the necessity for condescending "noblesse oblige" will be wiped out.

The Tribune demands the life of the rich young drone. The Socialist is quite content to have him keep his life, but seeks only to restore that which has been stolen from the people to its rightful owners—the producers.

## Special Socialist Train Wrecked In York State

The train bearing a large number of the eastern delegates, including those from New York, New Jersey, and New England, speeding to the Special Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party held at St. Louis, was wrecked while running full speed thru Waynesport, N. Y., a short distance below Rochester.

Three people were killed and more than a score were injured in the wreck. The accident occurred at ten minutes past midnight, Thursday, and was caused by the obscuring of the signal lights by the blinding snow storm and smoke thrown off by other passing trains. The fast passenger train ran full speed into the rear end of a freight train, killing the rear brakeman of the freight and both the engineer and fireman of the passenger train.

Practically all of the Socialist delegates were thrown from their berths and injured, none of them very seriously, however. All are in attendance at the convention and will remain throughout its duration.

Comrades George Spiess and Julius Gerber were the first to reach the overturned locomotive. They immediately put in a call for volunteers and all of the delegates dressed and did what they could to help matters. The engineer was found pinned under the telescoped remains of the locomotive, and was crushed beyond all recognition. The fireman was pulled out of the wreckage by the delegates, one of his legs was completely cut off and he was otherwise so badly injured that he died as soon as he was raised up into the Pullman. The brakeman had the whole side of his face smashed in and died about twenty minutes later.

The accident caused a delay of nine-and-one-half hours in getting into St. Louis, but the delegates arrived with plenty of time for the opening of the convention. They had planned to hold a discussion meeting on the policy of the organization and the problems that the convention would be called upon to face when the time for this came, however, the delegates were still too unstrung by their experience, so it had to be called off.

The situation, serious tho it was, still contained its share of humor. Comrade Moses Oppenheimer, when asked what had happened declared that the train had run into Article 2, Section 6 of the Party constitution. Other delegates however insisted that this was not so, but that an obstruction had been placed on the track by the "wildfire" Walling, Stokes, et al. to show their loyalty to the President and his humanity.

While running thru Buffalo at 2 a. m. the delegates were again awakened by the Y. P. S. L. of that city seeing off their two Yipsel Delegates Berggren and Mahoney, and the Yipsel yells rang thru the big station there.

### A CHANCE TO MAKE MONEY.

Mr. A. H. Davies, of Southern Alabama, writes: "As few people know of the wonderful opportunities here, my experience may benefit many. I have made \$100,000 in three years without a dollar, got some free land, cleared one acre and planted Satsuma oranges, which in first year I now have 50 acres of bearing Satsumas. My three or four year old trees yield a profit of \$300 to \$400 per acre, and my annual income is over \$18,000 and growing larger every year. Any person can get from 10 to 25 acres of choice land in the Demonstration Plantation FREE, by having oranges or figs and pecans planted. Write for particulars about this free land, address W. A. Roberts, Secretary, 335 Fifth Ave., Block 403, Pittsburgh, Pa. If you want to plant your trees, care for them and market the fruit for a share of the profit."

## Here Are Two War Programs Being Noticed At St. Louis

Numerous resolutions and verbal statements were presented to the emergency convention committee on war and militarism. Interest seemed to center especially about the statements presented by S. Nuorteva, delegate of the Finnish Federation, and by John M. Work, member of the national executive committee. Here they are:

By JOHN M. WORK.

The nation having become involved in the war, the Socialist Party pledges itself to put forth every effort to secure the adoption of the following program.

1. That the railroad, express, telegraph and interstate telephone lines shall be taken over and operated by the public.

2. That the coal and metalliferous mines shall be taken over and operated by the government.

3. That the cold storage plants and grain elevators shall be taken over and operated by the government.

4. That the entire food supply shall be taken over and operated by the public.

5. That the passenger and freight vessels shall be taken over and operated by the government.

6. That all other monopolized or exploiting industries shall be taken over and operated by the public.

7. That all willing workers, both men and women, shall be guaranteed an opportunity to earn a living and to receive their full earnings.

8. That all incomes above ten thousand dollars per year shall be taxed one hundred per cent.

9. That a heavy inheritance tax shall be levied, which will take into the public treasury all estates except sufficient allowance for the aged, mothers and minor children.

10. That wages and the standard of living shall be increased.

11. That freedom of speech, press, communication and assemblage, and all other liberties already achieved, shall be maintained.

12. That popular government shall be established; by nation wide equal suffrage for men and women; by the initiative; referendum; and recall; by proportional representation; by the abolition of the United States Senate; by the abolition of the veto power of the president; by the abolition of secret diplomacy; and one man rule in our foreign relations; by the election of the president and vice-president by direct vote of the people; by making the United States constitution amendable by the majority vote of those voting thereon; by the abolition of the usurped power of the courts to pass upon the constitutionality of laws of co-ordinate legislative bodies; by the election of all federal judges for short terms; and by the establishment of industrial democracy.

13. That when the peace conference comes the nation shall stand unwaveringly for the federation of the world; with universal disarmament and a world congress to settle International problems.

## London Urged Wilson To Work For Peace Not War

At the opening session of the present war congress, Monday, April 2, Meyer London, Socialist representative from New York, introduced a resolution in the House calling upon the president to again undertake open peace negotiations with the European nations at war.

Representative London believes that the revolution in Russia and the solid vote of the German Social Democrats in the Reichstag against the kaiser's war credits will render the governments concerned more enthusiastic for peace than they manifested themselves to be when the president made his former peace plan.

London's resolution is as follows: WHEREAS the revolution in Russia has liberated new democratic forces which promise to extend beyond the boundaries of rejuvenated Russia and over the entire continent of Europe, and

WHEREAS the ideals of true democracy and international peace are inseparable; and WHEREAS in consonance with the new wave of democracy and the universal growing demand for international peace, the German Social Democracy in the German Reichstag has, for the first time since the beginning of the war, unanimously voted against the military budget, and the Austrian Social Democracy in the Austrian Reichsrat has unanimously voted for peace, and in all of these measures the demand for a larger measure of the people's participation in the determining of international relations; and

WHEREAS these changes have occurred since the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, and justify the hope that the declaration of the sentiments and principles of the American people in the subject of international peace as promulgated by the president of the United States before the Senate of the United States, on January 22, 1917, would now receive a more favorable hearing and would strike a responsive chord with all democratic elements throughout the world, therefore be it

RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, that the president of the United States be and is hereby requested to renew his suggestion to the belligerents for a termination of the war, to the end that, as declared by the president, "there should be an organized peace" and "that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful, and to the end that the United States may be saved for the work of peace."

But such a method was of course more crude and inefficient. So as civilization advanced it gradually gave way to another and more efficient method. Hence, the master classes began to use material rewards—an inducement rather than coercive method of appeal. In Greece, in Rome and in other ancient nations, and even down to our own revolutionary war, the necessary soldiers were obtained thru promise of pay, booty, or citizenship, all three. This method worked efficiently for centuries in one land or another. Yet it was in the very nature of things doomed to give away to more subtle appeals.

Hence, we next see the offer of reward changed because of its materiality and uncertainty to another. This time an immaterial reward to be shared by all in the world to come is used. Now, no one was left out in the final settlement. Whether he was slaughtered in battle or come back to his native home in triumph, a reward would certainly be his in the world to come when he arrived over there.

This method worked like magic. Witness the career of Constantine and the great catholic leaders of the dark ages, witness the results that follow the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and the other crusade leaders. Nor has this method been used only by

By S. NUORTEVA.

1. The entrance of the United States in the war.

(a) A vigorous protest against the entrance of the U. S. in the war.

(b) A repudiation of the assumption that our government is waging a war in defense of democracy; pointing out the fact that a government which itself represents such autocratic powers as for example the absolutism of the Supreme Court and which gives the president more power than is possessed by anyone else in Europe, government which represents the supremacy of property rights as against human rights by making modern social legislation already existing in the most backward countries of the world practically impossible in the United States; a government under which the most vile crimes against humanity (as in Colorado, Michigan, Everett etc.) are perpetrated with impunity such a government only proves its hypocrisy and insincerity by preaching principles of humanity and democracy to other nations. Its appeal will not evoke a belief in the liberating mission by which the imperialistic designs of our rulers are cloaked.

(c) Pointing out of the fact that the entrance of the U. S. in the war, instead of, as claimed—shortening the war and furthering the interests of democracy will strengthen the backbone of the war and incite a fight to the bitter end and also, by establishing a mighty militaristic and imperialistic force in the country not only will strengthen aggressive class rule at home but will also rejuvenate the tottering forces of imperialism abroad, inciting new rivalries, competition in armament, etc. Thus the danger is that the United States will become a reactionary factor in the interests of the dying class autocracy.

(d) Protest against censorship, censorship, and other reactionary measures.

(e) No civil peace; repudiation and expulsion of those proclaiming it and offering co-operation to our ruling classes.

2. General principles as to the war. We are not pacifists. While denouncing the war conducted and controlled by capitalist classes against other capitalist classes or nations, we reserve the right of the working men to use all means, even war, in defense of revolutionary social and political achievements against reaction from within or without the country.

Proclamation of the supremacy of international interests over national. An appeal to the workers of Germany.

Proclamation should express our unshaken class solidarity with the German workers and express our confidence that the German workers, undisturbed by the tactless and ridiculous "revolutionary" role assumed by Mr. Wilson, will themselves find the time opportune for overturning the medieval system of Hohenzollernism and over the heads of the governments, in the name of a new Germany offer peace to the people of the world.

4. Greeting to the Russian Revolution represented by the Workingmen's Committee in Petrograd asking their co-operation in the interests of a revolutionary peace.

5. An appeal for a revolutionary peace to working men of all the world, the action to pick its form in an immediate convocation of the International, with the specific provision that countries in which the International has been split, all factions formerly belonging to the International should have the right to representation.

### The Call To Arms

By J. Covington Coleman.

One of the most interesting studies and vital facts of history is the evolution of the methods of appeal to arms that the master classes have used to force the masses to fight for them and their interests. Let me call attention to a few of these methods.

First was the method used by the ancient Persians and other peoples of antiquity. The slaves by the hundreds and thousands were chained together and driven into battle by their master with whips and scorpions. Recall the battle of Thermopylae. This method has been resorted to more or less in coercing the illiterate masses even down to the modern era. John Haynes Holmes recently called attention to the use of this method in the war between Russia and Japan. The peasants had to be driven to the recruiting stations at the point of the bayonet, and taken into battles with whips, "as a slave-driver would drive his slaves."

But such a method was of course more crude and inefficient. So as civilization advanced it gradually gave way to another and more efficient method. Hence, the master classes began to use material rewards—an inducement rather than coercive method of appeal. In Greece, in Rome and in other ancient nations, and even down to our own revolutionary war, the necessary soldiers were obtained thru promise of pay, booty, or citizenship, all three. This method worked efficiently for centuries in one land or another. Yet it was in the very nature of things doomed to give away to more subtle appeals.

Hence, we next see the offer of reward changed because of its materiality and uncertainty to another. This time an immaterial reward to be shared by all in the world to come is used. Now, no one was left out in the final settlement. Whether he was slaughtered in battle or come back to his native home in triumph, a reward would certainly be his in the world to come when he arrived over there.

This method worked like magic. Witness the career of Constantine and the great catholic leaders of the dark ages, witness the results that follow the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and the other crusade leaders. Nor has this method been used only by

one religious group or people. Witness the Mohammedans as they have gone forth en masse at the beckoning of the priest and his crescent banner.

All these wretched victims went forth to meet the "infidels" assured by masters and priests that in event of death they would immediately be ushered into the courts of paradise—into eternal bliss.

This method worked magnificently for ages, as history bears immortal witness. Only within the last two years was it found, in the "near East," to be impotent in its appeal.

The "Holy Wars" are for ever gone. The process of evolution has made it for ever a relic of a superstitious past.

In the meantime, however, the master classes hit upon a marvelously more efficient method. One that has outclassed all the others beyond compare. This appeal is not backed by the uncertainty of either material or immaterial reward. It has no offer of prosperity or happiness for this world or the one to come. Yet never have men flocked to the standards of their masters in such numbers and suffered and died for so little a cause or thought of self, as has been witnessed on the fields of Europe during the past thirty months. And, never have the churches and the priests and preachers been more lavish in their prayers and blessing in comforting the suffering and innocent victims who were left in the "wake of the storm."

What, you ask, is this appeal which has outstripped all others in its effectiveness? I answer it is the appeal to "Patriotism." What patriotism is, what it embodies, the average man does not know or care. Certain crude and high-sounding phrases fall with magic meaning upon his ears, "Kultur," "Civilization," "National honor," "Vital interest," "Sacred rights," "Humanity," etc.—to enlist men to vindicate these things. The clarion calls of the patriotic master classes have gone forth and the response has indeed been unthinkable. In their ignorance and superstition, youth and age, Slav and Teuton, peasant and serf, craftsmen and artisan, have left all to go forth to battle and to their graves. No magic under heaven, known among men could have driven men more readily and freely to the standards of their masters and to their doom.

What will be the next step in this process of evolution? I cannot surmise.

Suffice it to say that the present "Call to Arms" has proven the most successful and efficient means that the ruling war conducted and controlled by capitalist classes against other capitalist classes or nations, we reserve the right of the working men to use all means, even war, in defense of revolutionary social and political achievements against reaction from within or without the country.

## Working Rules Of Big Anti-War Convention

1.—A chairman and a vice-chairman shall be elected by show of hands at the beginning of each day's session.

2.—A permanent secretary and two assistants who may be chosen from outside the body of delegates, shall be elected by show of hands for the entire convention.

3.—A reading clerk shall be appointed by the chairman; also as many assistants as shall be necessary.

4.—A permanent sergeant-at-arms and such assistants as may be necessary, who may be chosen from outside the body of delegates, shall be appointed by the chairman.

5.—The sergeant-at-arms shall appoint a sufficient number of messengers to assist him.

6.—Four permanent tellers and such additional tellers as may be needed shall be appointed by the chairman.

7.—The Executive Secretary and members of the National Executive Committee who are not delegates, shall have a voice and no vote in the convention.

8.—The following committees of nine members (except that the committee on war and militarism shall consist of 15 members) each shall be elected:

(a)—Committee on War and Militarism;

(b)—Committee on Constitution;

(c)—Committee on Platform;

(d)—Committee on Resolutions;

(e)—Committee on Organization;

(f)—Committee on Ways and Means.

No delegate shall serve on more than one of the committees provided for in the rules.

All subjects pertaining to war and militarism shall be dealt with by the committee on that question. The committee on platform shall confine its work to a general declaration of Socialist principles and of the economic and political program of the Party.

The committee on organization shall deal with methods and plans of organization, propaganda and field work.

The committee on ways and means shall devise and recommend methods of raising funds for Party work including the necessary funds to cover the cost of this convention.

All resolutions dealing with subjects which do not come within the specific province of the other committees shall be referred to the committee on resolutions.

9.—Discussion shall be limited to five minutes for each speaker. Chairmen of committees shall have 20 minutes for opening reports and they shall have the right to close discussions. No delegate shall speak a second time on any question until all those desiring to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak.

10.—The sessions of the convention shall be from 9.00 a. m. to 12.30 p. m., and from 2.30 p. m. to 5.30 p. m. Night sessions shall be held as ordered.

11.—Robert's Rules of Order shall be used with this exception—when the previous question is ordered, one delegate on each side may speak for five minutes; also that the previous question may be ordered by majority vote.

12.—During the sessions no smoking shall be allowed.

13.—The vote of a state shall be passed as a unit where the delegates of such state are not in agreement

## Convention Committees

Members of the various committees chosen by the Emergency National Socialist Convention were as follows:

CONSTITUTION:—Maley, Minnesota; Kennedy, Illinois; Solomon, N. Y.; Mills, California; Williams, California; Katterfeld, Washington; McCrillis, Iowa; Goebel, New Jersey; Gaylord, Wisconsin.

RESOLUTIONS:—Noonan, N. Y.; Prevey, Ohio; Pierce, D. C.; Clifford, Ohio; Zimmerman, Indiana; Wilson, Pa.; Maurer, Washington; Gregory, Tennessee; Oklahoma.

PLATFORM:—O'Neal, Mass.; Millard, Kentucky; Barnard, Ohio; Stanwood, Oklahoma; Lore, N. Y.; Thomas, Washington; Cameron King, California; Patterson, Ohio; Murray King, Montana.

ORGANIZATION:—McDonald, Illinois; McGee, Colorado; Wagner, Kentucky; Ohio; Conly, Idaho; Willis, Georgia; Henry, Indiana; Houchin, Oklahoma; Mahoney, N. Y.; Caldwell, Rhode Island.

WAYS AND MEANS:—Myers, Pa.; Tuttle, Okla.; Meisner, Mont.; Sugar, Mich.; House, Wash.; Fenner, Mass.; Baker, Ohio; Holland, Illinois; Beloff, Kansas.

on the matter upon which vote is being taken.

14.—Each delegation shall designate in the absence of any delegate, the alternate who shall fill such vacancy if there are any duly elected alternates present from the state.

15.—Neither contesting nor contested delegates shall vote on any question relating to their right to be seated.

16.—A roll call shall be had when demanded by at least 25 delegates.

17.—All resolutions offered from the floor of the Convention shall be referred by the Chairman, to the proper committee without discussion.

18.—Immediately before the adjournment of each afternoon session, resolutions offered by delegates shall be received and referred.

19.—The rules may be suspended at any time by a majority of the delegates voting.

### Order Of Business.

The order of business for each day of the convention shall be as follows:

1.—The Convention shall be called to order by the Chairman of the preceding day, or in his absence, by the Vice-Chairman or the Executive Secretary, and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be elected for the day.

2.—Roll call of delegates unless dispensed with by motion.

3.—Reading of minutes of preceding day unless dispensed with by motion.

4.—Communications.

5.—Report on credentials.

6.—Unfinished business of the preceding day.

7.—Reports of officers and committees in the following order: Report of Executive Secretary. Report of National Executive Committee.

Report of American Socialist. Report of Foreign Speaking Federation.

Report of Committee on War and Militarism.

Report of Committee on Constitution. Report of Committee on Platform. Report of Committee on Resolutions. Report of Committee on Organization. Report of Committee on Ways and Means.

8.—New business.

9.—Receiving and referring of resolutions.

10.—Adjournment.

## Socialists

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## Unique Methods Used By Socialist Police Chief

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Written by Louis Hartill, Chief of Police of Minneapolis. He is a member of the Machinists' Union and of the Socialist Party.

When, on January 1, I assumed the duties of Chief of Police of Minneapolis, a certain class of crime was prevalent in the city. Hardly a week passed that the police were not called on to apprehend some fiend who had committed a criminal assault on young school girls. The number of carnal knowledge cases in Minneapolis was appalling. Little girls were afflicted with diseases, and ruined for life; one fourteen-year-old girl had become a mother; two others scarcely in their teens, were found in a disorderly house.

One of the first things I decided must be accomplished was to secure better cooperation between the police department and the citizens of Minneapolis.

To properly police and safeguard the interests of a city of the size of Minneapolis to me means not merely to apply the iron hand of the law which means to make arrests and bring about convictions of those who have become a menace to the public, but to throw the cloak of protection around the public, especially the children, throughout the entire city, and to do those things that prevent people committing crime as well as to arrest those who have committed crime.

In fact, to me the use of the police department in applying the big hammer side of this question is of great importance because to save one girl from falling is of greater value than arresting twenty who have already fallen. As soon as I took office, I started to make an investigation, not only as to the class of crimes being committed in the city, but as to the reasons and causes which led people to commit these crimes, and I found upon personal investigation and by personal cross questioning that a very large portion of carnal knowledge cases and assaults on little children were made possible on account of children being afraid of the policeman.

So I decided that if the children were being sent to their destruction because they were afraid of the policeman, then it was my duty to change this feeling, by lecturing through the schools to the teachers and the children, that the policeman was not their enemy but their friend, one whom they should put confidence in and not one whom they should fear.

First, I talked to the little children of the kindergarten classes and I talked to them in a childish way, which is the only language they understand, explaining to them that the policeman is their friend, that he must be kind and patient with them and that they must go to him when they are in trouble. In fact I taught them this lesson that when they are at home they are in the care of their parents and they can have no better care than this, when they are at school they are in the care of their teachers, and when on the streets they are in the care of the policeman. That they should not cross the street when trucks, automobiles, street cars, and other vehicles are passing by, and have down the time to reach the other side in safety and that if there is a policeman there to take his hand and have him take them across.

I then talked to the older boys and girls instructing the older girls not to take any automobile rides without the consent of their parents or teachers, and that when men drove up to the curb and invited them not to accept a ride, to take the number of their machine and refer the matter to the police department. That they should not accept gifts or money and should at all times advise with their parents or their teachers. I tell them that as they get older they will understand why I am carrying on this campaign.

The older boys I advised to stay away from pool halls where they learn to smoke cigarettes and where they find associates who are not the best and will eventually lead them into doing acts that will bring them into contact with the police department and also eventually lead them into being "dope" fiends.

While it is true that this campaign is unique and has never been carried on in any city of the United States, to my knowledge, still I feel that it is a campaign that is absolutely necessary, for we are not accepting the traditions of the past, but introducing into the department our ideas and ideals that we believe will give the city of Minneapolis the best police department in the United States.

## Spanish Leaflets

Four leaflets in Spanish have just been issued by the National Socialist Party as follows:

Una Defensa Catolica Del Socialismo (A Catholic Defense of Socialism) by the Hon. Charles Russell.

La Guerra de las Clases (The War of the Classes).

La Parabola Del Poso (The Parable of the Water Tank) by Edward Bellamy.

La Parabola Del Cazador (The Parable of the Hunter) by Edward Bellamy.

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## Junior Would Have Picked Another World

JUNIOR, IF YOUR PAW BUILDS HOUSES OR RAILROADS OR SHIPS OR DIGS COAL OR IRON, OR MAKES CLOTHES OR SHOES OR HATS, HE'S JUST A WORKER!



IF HE RAISES FOOD—HE'S JUST A RUBE AND FARMER.



IF HE BECOMES A SOLDIER AND KILLS AND DESTROYS HE'S A HERO AND MONUMENTS ARE PUT UP TO HIM.



## By RYAN WALKER.

I'M A HENRY DUBB YOU OUGHT TO BE SHOT AT SUN-RISE



## Making Young Socialists.

By HARRY D. SMITH.

### I. A Word To Party Members.

NOTE.—The American Socialist will reprint in this column series of articles by Harry D. Smith, former City Editor of the "New York Call." They are on the "P. S. L.," not so much as it sees itself or as it would express itself, but as an older comrade whose experience has been in the Socialist Party, and who comes as a trained advisor to the Y. P. S. L. would look at the young socialists' organization. Comrade Smith has had very good success as a Director of the Y. P. S. L. in New York City, and what he says will be of interest to both young and old.—W. F. K.

Republican and Democratic politicians numbering more than a few have had Socialist parents. Many others of Socialist parentage have become the most hidebound of conservatives. In short, many children of Socialists do not follow the noble ideals and principles of their fathers and mothers. Such is a condition of affairs that is deplorable, but true.

The school and the home of the present day are to be criticized, generally speaking, for one thing. It is the conduct of teachers and parents toward children. The following attitude is generally adopted: Much advice is continually handed out which is not practiced first by the advice givers. It is the attitude of "Don't do as I do, but do as I say." Furthermore, there are too many "Don'ts" and "Don't do that" edicts. Continual commanding is not teaching; neither is continual advice-giving, but proper and patient guidance in the right direction is.

Talking advice on occasion is not a bad thing; but when it is given and taken too often it becomes harmful. It is similar to the Socialist enthusiast who reads little or nothing of Socialist literature, delves less into important facts and statistics and takes from lecturers and speakers at public meetings. Such a person becomes a veritable parrot, does little independent thinking and cannot, therefore, develop into a member whose work and thought will be a credit to the cause for which he stands. This has been so noticeable that the question of the education of the Socialist membership itself has become one big vital topic.

Of what use is the Socialist party membership if it cannot keep its children within the fold? Do you suppose that outsiders can have respect for persons whose ideas have apparently failed with the members of their own families? Then, consequently, a problem presents itself. And yet it is not such a difficult one to solve if Socialist parents would but think seriously of their children's and their party's welfare.

The older Socialists have much to learn that is practical from the Catholic Church and the capitalist political parties. If the details of these organizations are looked into carefully, it is noted that the social feature stands out conspicuously. The old and the young are led to become intensively interested even in the bulk of a political party because of the big social element involved. The young develop into first voters very quickly. Politicians may be ruthless and oftentimes uneducated, but they are astute judges of human nature; they are natural-born psychologists. They know the value of appealing to the young, of gaining their good favor and of holding on to them. Results indicate that Socialists appear to be mere novices in the game, even so far as their own children are concerned.

Small children should attend Socialist Sunday schools; larger ones of adolescent age should become members of the Young People's Socialist League. They cannot be commanded to do so, neither should they be coerced. They should be led there naturally. There is so much good in these organizations that it is easy to get children into them. Even conservative parents can be induced to send their children to the schools and clubs if they can be convinced that the youngsters would be in the company of other good youngsters under proper and efficient guidance. Such is the call of responsible parenthood. Such is the big background upon which a great Young People's Socialist League can be built.

The Young People's Socialist leagues are doing well, thank you. Can they do better? Yes, my good comrades, much better. But, just so long as greenbacks do not grow on trees and coins on rose bushes, just so long will there not be a thorough efficient Young People's organization until you put your individual and collective shoulder to the wheel. Snoring and dreaming are good only in moments of rare relaxation. Action alone can accomplish results.

Do you think your sons and daughters are entitled to associate with other good boys and girls possessed of other good ideals and fine characters? Do you believe your children should grow up to think and act for themselves and thereby become more useful cit-

## Some Things Well To Know If We Would Not Starve

(Special Correspondence.)

WASHINGTON.—The entrance of the United States into the war is about to bring on an unparalleled food situation.

In ordinary times we produce more than enough food to supply our own wants and the needs of the export trade. But these are not ordinary times. Vast millions of the world's producers have been drawn into the armies, and the harvests of the world are short.

The world wheat is about 80 per cent of what it should be. The world sugar cane crop this year is about 70 per cent of what it should be.

The world potato crop is 25 per cent at least of what it should be. There is a scarcity of meats.

These are not the figures of an alarmist. They are conservative figures. It behooves the workers to take them to heart.

The United States completely lacks a system of food distribution. Its transportation facilities have been on the verge of breaking down for many months past. In case of a sudden troop movement, or in case of the necessity of transporting quantities of material to the Atlantic coast, the food cars would be sidetracked and the people would go hungry, even were there enough food for them to get.

This time the cry of the stimulators of production is no joke. We need more food, and part of the need is the lack of food, not only the faulty system of distribution.

Those who cannot buy potatoes should remember that corn meal, which costs one-fifth as much, is an almost perfect substitute. So is hominy. So is rice. Wheat bought at a feed store can be ground at home—cracked—and cooked as a breakfast food, costing far less than the cheapest patent breakfast foods. Bread can also be made of it. Soy or togo beans cost less than navy beans and have more food value in them. These things are well to know, for we would not starve.

## Freedom To Talk And Think

UNIVERSAL military service and perhaps conscription is coming. I have information from sources of such responsibility that I feel warranted in predicting absolutely that the Congress now sitting will enact legislation along this line far more drastic than any dreamed of a year ago.

But there is still a possibility of successfully fighting any attempt to CONSCRIPT OR PROSCRIBE THOUGHT AND SPEECH.

Every country attempts suppression of speech in the name of peace, and in time of war these attempts generally succeed. Already the militarists have begun to draw up the rules and regulations which they would like to see imposed upon a people which, our President tells us, is entering a war for democracy.

Men's actions may not be free, but at least their speech should be free. Tell this to your Congressmen, and point out to him that the same Constitution which guarantees him his freedom of utterance, is supposed to guarantee it to you.

Are you anxious that the youngsters absorb your superior code of ethics, morals and principles? Then, if you would do your duty as parents, you would encourage the development of Young People's Socialist League and Socialist Sunday schools, wherein the big social element is strong and the co-operative spirit vibrant.

## New Yipsel Song.

Comrade Joseph M. Caldwell, State Organizer of the Socialist Party of Rhode Island, is one of those Socialists who see the need of reaching the young in our fight for freedom. He is following the adaptation of an old song that will surely appeal to many of our Yipsel comrades:

"COMRADES' GOOD NIGHT SONG"  
(Tune: Good Night Ladies)  
Good Night, Comrades, Good Night, Comrades,  
Good Night, Comrades, the time has come to part.

Chorus:  
Cheerily we'll do our best, do our best, do our best,  
Cheerily we'll do our best, to win the victory.

Farewell, Comrades, Farewell, Comrades,  
Farewell, Comrades, till we meet you all again.  
(Chorus)

Courage, Comrades: Courage, Comrades:  
Courage, Comrades: the victory is sure.  
(Chorus)

THE average membership of the American Federation of Labor during the five months between September 30, 1916, and February 28, 1917, was 2,614,215, an increase of 286,740, over the same months last year. Outlook is that the present pace of growth will continue for some time to come.

## SPECIAL OFFERS!

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raised their voices for freedom in Russia; they profited by the friendship of the old ruling class, and they used to say that a government other than a despotism was impossible in that country. And now they eat their words.

But we of the revolutionary movement, we who helped the Russian workers for freedom in all the years of the past, we who hailed every sign of a break for freedom among the Russian people—we live in this grim procession almost divine retribution to the czarism that they were sworn to overthrow.

Seldom has there been such a dramatic scene; both sides live to see it. The revolutionists to rejoice at the big overthrow; the bureaucrats to suffer the agonies of the damned.

The French took the head of the man who told them to eat grass; they put it on a pike, stuffed the mouth with grass, and carried the grim standard thru the streets of Paris. But the minister was not there to see, even if the people saw.

But, when the exile come home, poor, doddering Nikolas will be there, and his anguish at the procession, while he shovels snow, will be the final dramatic touch to make this altogether perfect.

It is good to feel that we have worked so hard for Russian freedom, and that we live to see this in our day.

## Wrecking Democracy

By GEORGE W. NASMYTH

Author of "Social Progress and The Darwinian Theory."

A much deeper principle is involved than is usually discussed in connection with universal military service. What kind of a society do we wish to live in? For, if the principle of compulsion is accepted in the case of military service, it must be logically accepted for service in munition factories, on the railroads, in coal mines and in all industrial and economic life upon which modern wars depend. In other words, once having granted the principle of compulsion on the ground of military necessity, all the fundamental principles of democracy must be sacrificed and our country must be "Prussianized" from within. Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press are all opposed to military effectiveness and must disappear step by step if freedom of conscience, the advance trench of democracy, is carried by the militarists; for in the last analysis, universal military service means conscription of conscience.

The new political persecution represented by the adoption of conscription differs from the old religious persecution in this: Whereas, in the Middle Ages the heretic could save his life by keeping his mouth closed and his opinions to himself, in the modern political persecution of Twentieth Century militarism, the heretic who may believe that an aggressive foreign policy is unjust, or a war which his country has declared is unprovoked, is compelled not only to keep his opinions to himself, but is forced to go out and kill his fellowmen against whom he may have no cause for enmity whatever.

America is the only great nation left in the world in which militarism is not enthroned and the principle of conscription established. In order to defend our institutions and our democracy from imaginary dangers from without, we are urged to surrender to this much more real and formidable enemy of militarism and conscription from within. Upon the outcome of the great debate on "Conscription vs. Democracy" depends the question whether the last fortress of human freedom in the world and the greatest adventure in human history shall go down in failure. All patriotic Americans, all who believe that America has a mission and a great message of democracy to give to the world should enroll themselves in defense of America's freedom and democratic institutions presenting a united front against this attempt to militarize the whole American people.

Sometime in the future, if Europe remains an armed camp after this war, and if militarism is enshrined in the world, it may become inevitable for America to adopt conscription, and, in Jefferson's words "to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe," "to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the old world a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity." But if conscription ever does become inevitable let us not add blasphemy to our other crimes by adopting militarism in the name of democracy. No, let us do it with the clear knowledge that we are dealing a death blow to the greatest experiment in democracy the human race has ever tried. Let us do it with the consciousness that we have participated in a great world tragedy, and that, with the triumph of militarism in the New World as well as the Old, we shall have seen government of the people, by the people and for the people, perish from the earth.

## Three Socialists To Sit In Chicago City Council

On Monday evening, April 23rd, when the roll of the new city council is called in the city of Chicago, three Socialists will answer to their names. They will be Charles V. Johnson, of the Ninth Ward; William E. Rodriguez, of the Fifteenth Ward, and John C. Kennedy, of the Twenty-seventh Ward.

Kennedy has just been re-elected while Johnson has been elected for the first time and Rodriguez holds over for another year.

The Chicago Socialists therefore, in this year's election, one of the most spectacular ever held in the city from the Socialist standpoint, increase their representation of two in the city council to three, while two other Socialist candidates came within striking distance of victory.

Fought By Capitalist Press. Early in the campaign the capitalist press turned loose on the Socialist candidates generally because of their "unsatisfactory stand on the question of national preparedness." The fight was especially bitter on the part of the jingo Chicago Tribune against Kennedy because of his active part in fighting the militarists and addressing numerous anti-war meetings in Chicago. The Tribune kept up a continuous attack on Kennedy, with other daily papers joining in the chorus.

Kennedy, who has already served in the council two years, met the issue squarely and when the votes were counted he had received a majority of all the ballots cast, 10,958 being cast for him, more than the number of votes cast for all of his opponents.

Johnson Climbs To Victory. Johnson has been the candidate for several years in the Ninth Ward, which includes the Pullman Shops where Johnson is employed. He has been increasing his vote from year to year until this year he was elected with a plurality of 125 votes.

One of the most spectacular campaigns was waged in the Fifteenth Ward, where Ald. Rodriguez is the hold-over Socialist alderman, while J. Louis Engdahl, editor of The American Socialist, was the party candidate for the other seat in the council, two aldermen being elected from each ward in Chicago.

The forces of the Roger Sullivan democratic machine centered their efforts in this ward and money was poured out lavishly. As Engdahl began to show increased strength with the progress of the campaign, the republicans were persuaded to knife their own candidate and switch their support to the democratic candidate, with the result that the democrat was elected.

In this ward the Socialist strength lies mainly in the Jewish precincts. When the strike of the women against the kosher butcher shops started, in the heat of the campaign, the crafty democratic politicians charged that Engdahl started the meat strike and incited the riots that ensued, with the result that the kosher butchers, delicatessen store proprietors and bakery owners in the Jewish precincts joined hands with the democrats to defeat the Socialist candidate.

Wave The Flag. The republicans, on the other hand, began waving the flag lustily and shouting for votes against the "bloody revolutionists." On top of this the bi-partisan alliance of the Mayor Thompson-republican machine and the Roger Sullivan-democratic machine, which has plunged the city into bankruptcy and made it impossible to carry on the work of garbage and ashes collection, charged that the failure to collect ashes and garbage in the Fifteenth Ward was entirely the fault of the Socialist alderman, Rodriguez, with the result that the voters were misled into voting against their own interests. This shows the methods resorted to by the old party politicians in their efforts to fool the people.

In the 22nd Ward, Andrew Lafin, one of the veterans of the Chicago Socialist Party, polled 2,352 votes and came within a few hundred votes of victory. With their strength in the city council increased from two to three aldermen, with the movement considerably strengthened, and with increasing enthusiasm, the Chicago Socialists are going ahead in their fight to build up a bigger and stronger organization to win new victories in the future.

WORKERS INCREASE POWER IN SHEBOYGAN, WISCONSIN. Sheboygan Socialists re-elected their former city officials and elected three more aldermen, one school commissioner and one supervisor in the spring elections. The party now is represented by five aldermen, two supervisors, the city assessor, one school commissioner and one member

of the water commission. The aldermen elected are: Joseph Baumgartner, Fourth ward; J. Meyer, Sixth ward; J. De Zwart, Seventh ward; and William Brockman, Eighth ward.

## ARREST AND FINE TWO FOR SEEKING DOWNFALL OF WAR

Kenosha, Wis.—Two members of the Socialist party were arrested and fined \$7 each for distributing the national Socialist leaflet entitled, "Down With War."

Martin Schmidt, Socialist, was elected school commissioner from the Seventh ward, giving the party three members of the school board. W. F. Goodman, Socialist was defeated for alderman by 27 votes. The party has one holdover alderman.

CATHOLIC WOMEN FACTOR IN MILWAUKEE SCHOOL ELECTION. Milwaukee, Wis.—Through the combined influence of the business and the Catholic church, the Socialist candidates for school directors and judges were defeated in the recent spring elections.

The total vote for school directors was approximately 38,000 in comparison with 35,000 two years ago. The increase is believed to be due largely to votes of Catholic women. The political complexion of the school board remains practically unchanged. The five Socialist directors hold over, the term of one expiring in 1919 and of the other four in 1921.

## FIRST SOCIALIST ELECTED ALDERMAN AT OTTUMWA, IA.

Ottumwa, Ia.—S. S. Menefee, Socialist, was elected councilman at the municipal election here, the first Socialist ever chosen to this position in Ottumwa. Menefee received 2,253 out of 5,024 votes cast for mayor under the nonpartisan commission plan. A mayor and two councilmen were chosen, his vote giving Menefee the second place as councilman.

## GREAT MAJORITY ELECTS DULUTH CITY COMMISSIONER

Duluth, Minn.—G. Phillips, Socialist, candidate for city commissioner, was elected by a great majority.

## ELECT TWO SOCIALISTS.

Mason, Wis.—Socialists elected Ole B. Olsson, supervisor, and Arthur F. Anderson, assessor, in the town of Mason, Bayfield county.

## Women And War

By EDMUND R. BRUMBAUGH.

A kindly, learned gentleman of "Old Virginia" saw two women trying to induce a young lad to enlist. "I don't very often feel like hitting women with a baseball bat," he said in relating the incident, "but I did then." He was an ex-Confederate veteran. He knew what war was. An ardent pacifist, the action of the women seemed despicable in his eyes.

And the action WAS despicable. Women soliciting for such a purpose are only a step higher than women who solicit for the sale of their bodies; and, in fact, the latter deserve only deepest compassion, while the former are entitled only to contempt. Such women are unworthy of their sex. Too sacred and solemn for them is the function of motherhood. Theirs are women's bodies, their women's physical possibilities, but lacking in them are women's hearts and women's souls.

Something in military display seems to appeal with particular force to the feminine nature. Brass bands and soldierly carriage win hearts as well as eloquent wooing and big bank accounts. An effective peace propaganda, therefore, must be conducted with a view to paying particular attention to the women.

"Lips that touch liquor shall never touch mine" is the burden of an old temperance song. Hands that hold guns shall never hold mine" should be the new version.

Sentimental? Yes. But sensible nevertheless. It would work.

## How To Become Naturalized.

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